

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4849

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 5 NEW DELHI 14462

DEPARTMENT PASS SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

NSC-E

SECTO 164

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH TO INDIAN COUNCIL ON  
WORLD AFFAIRS, OCTOBER 28, IN NEW DELHI

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECRETARY'S SPEECH IN NEW DELHI. IT  
WILL BE RELEASED TO PRESS AT 1500H, EMBARGOED UNTIL 1800H,  
BOTH TIME NEW DELHI LOCAL. BEGIN TEXT:

DR. BHARAT RAM, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM HONORED TO BE INVITED TO ADDRESS SUCH A DISTINGUISHED  
GATHERING. FOR THE BASIC OBJECTIVE OF THIS ORGANIZATION--TO  
COMPREHEND, COMMUNICATE, AND HELP SHAPE THE STATE OF WORLD  
AFFAIRS--HAS BEEN THE CENTRAL PURPOSE OF MY OWN LIFE SINCE LONG  
BEFORE I SERVED IN GOVERNMENT. AND I SINCE HAVE FOUND THAT THE  
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STATESMAN, TOO, HAS NO MORE IMPORTANT TASK.

FORMER PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN ONCE SAID, "LIFE BECOMES MEANINGFUL ONLY WHEN WE GRASP THE CHARACTER OF AGE WE LIVE IN, SEE IT SIGNIFICANCE, UNDERSTAND THE OBJECTIVES ITS SETS US AND STRIVE TO REALIZE THEM."

THE FUNDAMENTAL REALITY OF OUR AGE IS THAT WE LIVE IN A WORLD INEXTRICABLY LINKED BY INTERDEPENDENT ECONOMIES AND UNIVERSAL ASPIRATIONS, BY THE SPEED OF COMMUNICATIONS AND THE SPECTER OF NUCLEAR WAR. THE POLITICAL LESSON OF OUR AGE IS THAT THE NATIONAL INTEREST CAN NO LONGER BE DEFINED OR ATTAINED IN ISOLATION FROM THE GLOBAL INTEREST. AND THE MORAL CHALLENGE OF OUR AGE IS TO FREE OURSELVES FROM THE NARROW PERCEPTION OF THE NATION STATE AND TO SHAPE A CONCEPTION OF GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

#### A NEW WORLD

THE THREE YEARS SINCE I WAS LAST IN NEW DELHI HAVE SEEN PROFOUND CHANGES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES, IN THE WHOLE REGION AND IN THE WORLD.

ON MY LAST TRIP TO SOUTH ASIA I PAID MY FIRST VISIT TO PEKING. ON THIS TRIP I HAVE VISITED MOSCOW. MOVING ABOUT AMONG CAPITALS ONLY RECENTLY CONSIDERED HOSTILE IS A NEW PATTERN FOR THE UNITED STATES. IT SIGNIFIED THE TRANSITION FROM A BIPOLAR WORLD LOCKED IN CONFRONTATION AND SEEMINGLY DESTINED FOR SOME FINAL ENCOUNTER TO THE NEW WORLD OF DISPERSED POWER AND REDUCED TENSION.

THIS CHANGED ENVIRONMENT IS MORE COMPLEX AND THEREFORE, FOR SOME, LESS ASSURING. YET WE SEE IT AS A WORLD OF HOPE. FOR THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AMONG MAJOR POWERS HAS NOT MADE THE WORLD MORE COMPLEX; IT MERELY SIGNIFIES THAT LEADERS HAVE RECOGNIZED ITS COMPLEXITY. THOSE WHO OUGHT ALWAYS TO HAVE KNOWN HOW SERIOUS IS MAN'S PREDICAMENT HAVE LEARNED HOW LITTLE BENEFIT CONFRONTATION BRINGS AND HOW ABSOLUTE IS THE NEED FOR COOPERATION.

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THIS HAS NOT BEEN A EFFORTLESS TRANSITION FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. NOR IS IT WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES IN OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD. FOR IT REQUIRES COMING TO TERMS WITH LESS SIMPLE VIEWS OF RIGHT AND WRONG, OF THE POSSIBLE AND THE IDEAL THAN HAVE PERMEATED POLITICAL THINKING FOR A GENERATION.

THIS NEW AMERICAN VIEW, IT IS APPROPRIATE TO ACKNOWLEDGE, OWES MUCH TO AN OLD VISION OF INDIA'S NATIONAL LEADERS.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU PERCEIVED THE IMPERMANENCE OF THE POST-WAR WORLD -- INTO WHICH INDIA WAS BORN -- OF FROZEN HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS AND THEIR INSISTENT EFFORTS TO ENLIST OTHER NATIONS ON ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. UNDER NEHRU AND SINCE, INDIA SOUGHT TO DEFLECT, TO MODERATE AND TO REDIRECT THOSE FORCES. THIS WAS THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF NONALIGNMENT.

IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO DEBATE NOW WHETHER THE UNITED STATES SHOULD HAVE WELCOMED THE CONCEPT AT THAT TIME IN ORDER TO AGREE THAT IN THE PRESENT WORLD IT IS FOR NATIONS SUCH AS INDIA AN ALTOGETHER UNDERSTANDABLE AND PRACTICAL POSITION. THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTS NONALIGNMENT. IN FACT, AMERICA SEES A WORLD OF FREE, INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATES AS BEING DECIDEDLY IN ITS OWN NATIONAL INTEREST. SUPPORT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND OF THE DIVERSITY THAT GOES WITH IT HAS BECOME A CENTRAL THEME OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

NOWHERE IS THIS CLEARER THAN WITH RESPECT TO SOUTH ASIA, WHERE A FIFTH OF MANKIND LIVES. IN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE SIX WEEKS AGO, I STATED THIS PRINCIPLE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN EXPLICIT TERMS: "WE DO NOT LOOK AT THE SUBCONTINENT AS BEING COMPOSED OF SOME COUNTRIES THAT ARE CLIENTS OF CHINA, OTHERS THAT ARE CLIENTS OF THE SOVIET UNION, OTHERS THAT SHOULD BE CLIENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN HAVE PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALL OF THEM. AND WE BELIEVE ALSO, SPORALLY WITH RESPECT TO INDIA, THAT OUR RELATIONS ARE IN A STAGE OF DRAMATIC IMPROVEMENT."

THE WARMING OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY MANIFEST FOR SOME TIME. IT BEGAN INEVITABLY AS THE SIMLA PROCESS BEGAN; AND IT HAS PROCEEDED AND STRENGTHENED AS THAT PROCESS HAS PROCEEDED AND STRENGTHENED. FOR IT WAS CONFLICT WITH THE SUBCONTINENT THAT BROUGHT THE INVOLVEMENT OF OUTSIDERS IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE FIRST PLACE. AND CORRESPONDINGLY, THE REGION'S POLITICAL CAPACITY TO RESOLVE REGIONAL CONFLICT HAS, TO A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE, DIMINISHED OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT. PRESIDENT FORD HAS ASKED ME TO AFFIRM THAT THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ON THE SUBCONTINENT, FREE OF IMPOSITION, OR PRESSURE OR OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. WE WANT POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC SUCCESS FOR SOUTH ASIA. THAT IS WHAT WE BELIEVE SOUTH ASIANS HOPE FOR, AND WHAT THE REST OF

THE WORLD SHOULD HOPE FOR AS WELL.

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4850

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DEPARTMENT PASS SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

NSC-E

SECTO 164

THE STATESMANSHIP OF ALL OF SOUTH ASIA'S LEADERS HAS BEEN AT THE HEART OF THIS PROCESS. IT HAS TAKEN GREAT COURAGE TO PERSEVERE TOWARD THE GOAL AGREED UPON BY PAKISTAN AND INDIA AT THE SIMLA CONFERENCE IN 1972: "THE PROMOTION OF FRIENDLY AND HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DURABLE PEACE IN THE SUBCONTINENT."

THE SIZE AND POSITION OF INDIA GIVE IT A SPECIAL ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN SOUTH ASIAN AND IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THEY CONFER ON IT AT THE SAME TIME THE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACCOMMODATION AND RESTRAINT THAT STRENGTH ENTAILS. THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES BOTH THESE REALITIES. THEY ARE WHOLLY COMPATIBLE WITH THE CLOSE FRIENDSHIPS AND SPECIAL BONDS WE HAVE WITH ALL THE NATIONS OF THE REGION. AS WE WISH SOUTH ASIA WELL, WE WISH INDIA WELL.

THUS A MORE MATURE AND DURABLE RELATIONSHIP IS EMERGING  
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BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES -- ONE WHICH LEAVES BEHIND  
THE PEAKS AND VALLEYS OF THE PAST.

BOTH INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES STILL CONSIDER THEMSELVES  
YOUTHFUL NATIONS. THE RESTLESSNESS, THE STRIVING AND THE IDEALS  
OF OUR PEOPLE ATTEST TO THE REALITY OF THAT IMAGE. BUT A BASIC  
QUALITY OF YOUTH--ENTHUSIASM UNSEASONED BY EXPERIENCE--OFTEN  
CAUSED US TO ASSUME OR EXPECT TOO MUCH. WE ARE TWO GREAT NATIONS  
OF INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT AND PERSPECTIVE; OFTEN OUR ZEAL AND MORAL  
CONVICTIONS HAVE LED US INTO DISAGREEMENTS WITH A PASSION THAT  
MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN PRESENT HAD WE NOT BEEN CONSCIOUS OF SIMILAR  
IDEALS.

FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OUR RELATIONS TENDED TO OSCILLATE  
BETWEEN HIGH EXPECTATION AND DEEP SUSPICION. THE LOW POINT OCCURRED  
IN 1971 WHEN A BASIC DISAGREEMENT FLOWED FROM DIFFERENT POLITICAL  
JUDGMENTS. WE FACED THESE DIFFERENCES CANDIDLY; THAT CRISIS IS  
NOW BEHIND US. WE HAVE SURMOUNTED PAST STRAINS AND MOVED AHEAD  
WITH PROMISE. WE CAN NOW BUILD OUR RELATIONSHIP FREE OF PAST  
DISTORTIONS AND CONSCIOUS OF THE INTERESTS AND VALUES WE SHARE.

FROM THE EVENTS OF THE PAST -- FROM OUR EXPERIENCE WITH THE  
WORLD AS WELL AS YOURS -- WE HAVE BOTH DEVELOPED A MORE BALANCED  
VIEW. BOTH OF US INDEPENDENTLY HAVE COME TO TEMPER OUR ZEAL AND  
UNDERSTAND LIMITATIONS ON OUR ABILITY TO BEND THE WORLD TO OUR  
EXPECTATIONS. IN PARALLEL WITH THIS, IN OUR RELATIONS WITH EACH  
OTHER WE BOTH STRESS THE BASIC COMPATIBILITY OF OUR INTERESTS.  
THIS PROMISES TO PROVIDE A DURABLE BASIS FOR COOPERATION AND  
FRIENDSHIP.

#### AMERICA'S PURPOSES

FOR OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP TO THRIVE, A GREAT DEAL DEPENDS ON  
OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. NATIONS FACE DIFFERENT PROBLEMS AND  
DIFFERENT OPPORTUNITIES -- THEIR PERSPECTIVES AND POWER INEVI-  
TABLY VARY. LET ME THEREFORE BRIEFLY SKETCH AMERICA'S BROADER  
PURPOSES -- ESPECIALLY AS THEY HAVE EVOLVED IN RECENT YEARS IN A  
CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT.

AROUND THE WORLD TODAY, THE NEW AND THE OLD COEXIST IN  
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UNEASY EQUILIBRIUM. THE FROZEN INTERNATIONAL LANDSCAPE OF THE  
PAST QUARTER CENTURY HAS BEGUN TO THAW BUT WE HAVE YET TO PUT  
A DURABLE STRUCTURE OF COOPERATION IN ITS PLACE. A NEW ERA  
OF STABILITY HAS BEGUN IN EUROPE AND ASIA, WHILE CHRONIC DISPUTES  
IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDOCHINA STILL ENDANGER REGIONAL AND

FLOBAL PEACE. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE PERCEIVED A COMMON INTEREST IN AVOIDING NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST, WHILE SOME POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT PERSISTS AND THE ARSENALS OF THE TWO SIDES CONTINUE TO GROW. THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAVE SUCCEEDED IN OVERCOMING TWO DECADES OF ESTRANGEMENT, BUT IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES IN PHILOSOPHY REMAIN. AND AS THE OLD BLOCS AMONG OLD POWERS DECLINE, NEW BLOCS AMONG NEW NATIONS THREATEN TO EMERGE.

THE UNITED STATES SEES ITS CENTRAL TASK TODAY AS BEHOPING THE WORLD TO SHAPE A NEW PATTERN OF STABILITY, JUSTICE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. WE HAVE REJECTED THE OLD EXTREMES OF WORLD POLICEMAN AND ISOLATION. BUT WE RECOGNIZE THAT AMERICA'S PRINCIPLES, STRENGTH AND RESOURCES IMPOSED UPON US A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

OUR GOAL IS TO MOVE TOWARD A WORLD WHERE POWER BLOCS AND BLANCES ARE NOT DOMINANT; WHERE JUSTICE NOT STABILITY CAN BE OUR OVERRIDING PREOCCUPATION, WHERE COUNTRIES CONSIDER COOPERATION IN THE GLOBAL INTEREST TO BE IN THEIR NATIONAL INTEREST. FOR ALL THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, WE MUST REALIZE THAT WE HAVE TAKEN ONLY THE FIRST HESITANT STEPS ON A LONG AND ARDUOUS ROAD.

THE UNITED STATES HAS THREE PRINCIPAL POLICY OBJECTIVES:

FIRST, AMERICA HAS SOUGHT TO FOSTER A NEW SPIRIT OF RESPONSIBILITY AND RESTRAINT AMONG ALL POWERS.

THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS -- AS IT HAS BEEN FOR A GENERATION--OUR PARTNERSHIP WITH OUR ATLANTIC ALLIES AND JAPAN. THESE BONDS HAVE SERVED BOTH THE WORLD'S PEACE AND ITS PROSPERITY. OUR COOPERATION PROVIDED A SOLID FOUNDATION FOR EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS WITH OUR ADVERSARIES. IT HAS ENABLED US TO CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD ECONOMIC GROWTH. AND THE NATIONS WHICH PROVIDE THE INDUSTRIAL, FINANCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL SINEWS OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY NOW SHARE A HEAVY COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY TO CONCERT THEIR EFFORTS IN A TIME OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC STRESS.

IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS THE UNITED STATES HAS ALSO SOUGHT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO PUT ITS RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST POWERS ON A NEW AND STEADY BASIS.

SINCE THE DAWN OF THE NUCLEAR AGE, MAN'S FEARS OF HOLOCAUST AND HIS HOPES FOR PEACE HAVE TURNED ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. NEVER BEFORE HAVE TWO NATIONS HAD THE PHYSICAL ABILITY TO ANNIHILATE CIVILIZATION. NEVER BEFORE HAS IT BEEN SO IMPORTANT THAT THE TWO NUCLEAR GIANTS MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH ONE ANOTHER TO AVOID CONFLICTS WHICH WOULD MENACE OTHER NATIONS AS MUCH AS THEMSELVES.

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DEPARTMENT PASS SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

NSC-E

SECTO 164

PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN UNTHINKABLE A DECADE AGO. WE TAKE THE EASING OF TENSIONS FOR GRANTED ONLY AT THE RISK OF THE RETURN OF CONFRONTATION. IN MY DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW I STATED YET AGAIN THE DETERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, AND WAS ASSURED BY THE SOVIET LEADERS THAT THEY SHARED THIS INTENTION. THE UNITED STATES WILL PERSEVERE TO REDUCE MILITARY COMPETITION WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN ALL ITS ASPECTS; TO ENSURE THAT OUR POLITICAL COMPETITION IS GUIDED BY PRINCIPLES OF RESTRAINT ESPECIALLY IN MOMENTS OF CRISIS; AND TO MOVE BEYOND RESTRAINT TO COOPERATION IN HELPING FIND LASTING SOLUTIONS TO CHRONIC CONFLICTS.

AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ARE ALSO OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE. THERE CANNOT BE A STABLE PEACE IN ASIA--OR IN THE WORLD--WITHOUT A PATTERN OF PEACEFUL INTER-  
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NATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS THAT INCLUDES THIS POWERFUL AND TALENTED NATION. IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO END A GENERATION OF MUTUAL ISOLATION AND HOSTILITY.

YET RAPPROACHMENT WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS NOT SOUGHT AT THE EXPENSE OF ANY OTHER NATIONS; ON THE CONTRARY IT ATTEMPTS TO SERVE A WIDER PURPOSE. THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE COMMIT OUR TWO NATIONS TO RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF ALL COUNTRIES AS WE WORK TO IMPROVE OUR OWN RELATIONSHIPS.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ARE ANOTHER PILLAR OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. NO ACCOMMODATION AMONG COUNTRIES, HOWEVER POWERFUL, CAN BE DURABLE IF NEGOTIATED OVER THE HEADS OF OTHERS OR IF AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO IMPOSE IT ON OTHERS. OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NON-ALIGNED WILL BE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, MUTUAL RESPECT AND SHARED ENDEAVORS AND ON THE PREMISE THAT ALL COUNTRIES HAVE A STAKE IN A PEACEFUL WORLD. CONDOMINIUM, HEGEMONY, SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ARE HISTORICALLY OBSOLETE AND MORALLY AND POLITICALLY UNTENABLE.

IT IS A COROLLARY OF THIS, HOWEVER, THAT BLOC DIPLOMACY OF ANY KIND IS ANACHRONISTIC AND SELF-DEFEATING. WE SEE A DANGER OF NEW PATTERNS OF ALIGNMENT THAT ARE AS ARTIFICIAL, RIGID AND RITUALISTIC AS THE OLD ONES. THE ISSUES THE WORLD FACES ARE SO URGENT THAT THEY MUST BE CONSIDERED ON THEIR MERITS, ON THE BASIS OF THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMANITY, AND FOR WORLD PEACE-- RATHER THAN ON SOME ABSTRACT NOTION OF IDEOLOGICAL OR BLOC ADVANTAGE. IN A REAL SENSE THE WORLD IS NO LONGER DIVIDED BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH, DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING, CONSUMER AND PRODUCER. WE WILL SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS TOGETHER OR WE WILL NOT SOLVE THEM AT ALL.

SECOND, AMERICA SEEKS TO LIMIT AND ULTIMATELY TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS COMPETITION.

THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS CANNOT SURVIVE AN UNRESTRAINED ARMS RACE BY THE TWO STRONGEST NUCLEAR POWERS. AND INTERNATIONAL STABILITY WILL BE SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZED BY THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE IT A MAJOR OBJECTIVE TO BRING ABOUT A MORE STABLE

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NUCLEAR ENVIRONMENT.

THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS ARE AMONG THE MOST



CRUCIAL NEGOTIATIONS EVER CONDUCTED. THE AGREEMENTS ALREADY SIGNED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENT A MAJOR STEP TOWARD STRATEGIC STABILITY. THEY PLACED A PERMANENT LIMIT ON DEFENSIVE WEAPONS AND AN INTERIM LIMIT ON OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. OUR TASK NOW IS TO CONTROL THE QUALITATIVE AS WELL AS QUANTITATIVE ADVANCE OF WEAPONS. WE SEEK A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH STABLE CEILINGS AND OTHER RESTRAINTS, FROM WHICH WE COULD BEGIN THE LONG-SOUGHT PROCESS OF ARMS REDUCTIONS. PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION WAS MADE DURING MY RECENT TALKS IN MOSCOW.

AT THE SAME TIME, A WORLD IN WHICH AN EVER-INCREASING NUMBER OF NATIONS POSSESS NUCLEAR WEAPONS VASTLY MAGNIFIED THE RISKS OF BOTH REGIONAL AND GLOBAL CONFLICT. AND PROLIFERATION COMPLICATES -- IF IT DOES NOT INHIBIT--INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF THE ATOM.

LAST MONTH AT THE UNITED NATIONS I PROPOSED A COMPREHENSIVE GLOBAL EFFORT. THE UNITED STATES IS OF THE VIEW THAT COUNTRIES CAPABLE OF EXPORTING NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY SHOULD AGREE TO COMMON RESTRAINTS ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS WHICH WOULD FURTHER THE PEACEFUL, BUT INHIBIT THE MILITARY USES OF NUCLEAR POWER. WE TAKE SERIOUSLY INDIA'S AFFIRMATION THAT IT HAS NO INTENTION TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BUT INDIA OF COURSE HAS THE CAPABILITY TO EXPORT NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY; IT THEREFORE HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS MULTILATERAL ENDEAVOR. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT ASK OTHER COUNTRIES FOR RESTRAINT ON THE EXPORT OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND TECHNOLOGY WHICH IT IS NOT PREPARED TO APPLY TO ITSELF. WE WILL WORK VIGOROUSLY WITH OTHERS ON THE PRACTICAL STEPS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN TO LIMIT THE DANGERS OF THE ATOM WHILE FURTHERING ITS POTENTIAL FOR HUMAN GOOD.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4856

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DEPARTMENT PASS SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

NSC-E

SECTO 164

A THIRD OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN POLICY IS TO BUILD GLOBAL CO-  
OPERATION TO MEET UNPRECEDENTED GLOBAL PROBLEMS.

THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS -- THE  
BALANCE AMONG MAJOR POWERS, THE SECURITY OF NATIONS -- NO  
LONGER DEFINES OUR PERILS OR OUR POSSIBILITIES. TO SOME EXTENT  
WE HAVE MASTERED MANY OF THE FAMILIAR CHALLENGES OF DIPLOMACY.  
YET SUDDENLY WE ARE WITNESSING A NEW THREAT TO THE GOVERNABILITY  
OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES AND TO THE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL  
STABILITY. A CRISIS THREATENS THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THE  
INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS SEE DECADES OF PROSPERITY IN JEOPARDY;  
THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SEE HOPES FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS  
SHATTERED OR POSTPONED INDEFINITELY. AND EVEN THE NEWLY WEALTHY  
OIL PRODUCERS ARE BEGINNING TO PERCEIVE THAT THEIR RECENT GAINS  
WILL BE SWEEPED AWAY IN A GLOBAL CRISIS.

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THE DANGERS ARE AS SELF-EVIDENT FOR THE UNITED STATES AS  
THEY ARE FOR INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES: RATES OF INFLATION  
UNKNOWN IN THE PAST QUARTER CENTURY; FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS STAG-  
GERING UNDER THE MOST MASSIVE AND RAPID MOVEMENTS OF RESERVES  
IN HISTORY; AND PROFOUNDLY DISTURBING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ABILITY  
TO MEET MAN'S MOST FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS FOR ENERGY AND FOOD.

THIS IS NOT A CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PROBLEM, WHICH CAN BE  
DEALT WITH BY CONVENTIONAL DIPLOMACY OR ON THE BASIS OF  
CONVENTIONAL PREMISES OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC THEORY. IT AFFECTS  
ALL COUNTRIES AND GROUPS. THERE IS NO GAIN FOR ONE AT THE  
EXPENSE OF ANOTHER. PIECEMEAL SOLUTIONS OFFER NO HOPE: A GLOBAL  
ENTERPRISE IS IMPERATIVE. NO NATION OR BLOC OF NATIONS CAN IMPOSE  
ITS NARROW INTERESTS WITHOUT TEARING THE FABRIC OF INTERNATIONAL  
COOPERATION. WHATEVER OUR IDEOLOGICAL BELIEF OR SOCIAL STRUC-  
TURE, WE ARE PART OF A SINGLE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM ON WHICH OUR

NATIONAL OBJECTIVES DEPEND. OUR COMMON DESTINY IS NOW NOT A SLOGAN; IT IS AN UNMISTAKABLE REALITY.

THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO DEDICATE ITSELF IN PRACTICAL WAYS TO THIS GLOBAL EFFORT. AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK WE WILL OFFER A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM AS OUR CONTRIBUTION TO FREEING MANKIND FROM THE ETERNAL STRUGGLE FOR SUSTENANCE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT AMERICA'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY, ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY, AND TRADITION OF ASSISTANCE REPRESENT A MAJOR OBLIGATION. WE KNOW THAT WE CANNOT SPEAK OF THE GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY OF OTHERS WITHOUT PRACTICING GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY OURSELVES. AMERICA PIONEERED IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO FOOD; WE ARE DETERMINED TO STEP UP OUR PAST CONTRIBUTIONS. WE WILL INCREASE OUR PRODUCTION AT HOME SO THERE WILL BE MORE FOOD AVAILABLE FOR SHIPMENT ABROAD. AND WE WILL HELP DEVELOPING NATIONS INCREASE THEIR OWN PRODUCTION WHICH IS THE ONLY LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE WORLD'S FOOD NEEDS -- AND THE REDISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH -- IMPLY THAT OTHERS MUST ENLIST IN THE FIGHT AGAINST FAMINE. THE UNITED STATES WILL WORK COOPERATIVELY WITH OTHER EXPORTERS, WITH FOOD IMPORTERS, AND WITH THOSE COUNTRIES IN A POSITION TO HELP FINANCE INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

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BUT IT IS AN OBJECTIVE FACT THAT WE CANNOT MEET MAN'S NEED FOR FOOD, MUCH LESS ENSURE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCE, WITHOUT COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS. HIGHER OIL PRICES DIRECTLY EFFECT FOOD PRICES BY INCREASING THE COSTS OF FERTILIZER, OF OPERATING AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, AND OF TRANSPORTING FOOD TO DEFICIT AREAS. THIS IN TURN CONTRIBUTES TO THE MORE GENERAL ECONOMIC CRISIS OF INFLATION AND STAGNATION WHICH WILL SURELY DOOM THE ABILITY OF THE ECONOMICALLY ADVANCED COUNTRIES TO FULFILL THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO THE LESS WELL-ENDOWED. BOTH CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS HAVE A PARALLEL STAKE IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY THAT IS STABLE AND GROWING. THE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THIRTY YEARS HAS BROUGHT THE GOAL OF UNIVERSAL WELL-BEING CLOSER; TODAY'S CRISIS PUTS IT IN JEOPARDY. THIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES HAS EMPHASIZED GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND SEEKS COOPERATIVE GLOBAL SOLUTIONS.

THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

THE AMERICAN PURPOSES I HAVE DESCRIBED ARE, WE BELIEVE, CONSISTENT WITH INDIA'S PURPOSES. WE ARE NATIONS WHOSE VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS ARE SO SIMILAR THAT OUR DISPUTES ARE OFTEN IN THE NATURE OF A FAMILY QUARREL. WE HAVE NO CONFLICT OF INTEREST,

NO BASIC ANIMOSITY OR DISAGREEMENT THAT KEEPS US APART. AND WE  
FACE A WORLD IN CRISIS AND TRANSITION, THAT COMPELS US TO WORK  
TOGETHER.

WE ARE BOTH DEMOCRACIES, WITH ALL THAT IMPLIES FOR THE KINDS  
OF DECISIONS WE ARE ABLE TO MAKE. THE LEADERS OF A DEMOCRACY  
CAN ONLY SUSTAIN POLICIES WHICH THEIR ELECTORATE WILL SUPPORT.  
IT THERE ARE NO GENERAL RULES AS TO WHAT SUCH POLICIES ARE  
LIKELY TO BE, THERE ARE SPECIFIC LIMITATIONS AS TO WHAT THEY  
CANNOT BE. IT IS CLEAR THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP CANNOT BE BASED--  
IN EITHER COUNTRY-- ON THE DEPENDENCE OF ONE ON THE OTHER. NOR  
CAN OUR RELATIONSHIP SURVIVE CONSTANT CRITICISM OF ONE BY THE  
OTHER IN ALL INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. THERE MUST BE A SENSE OF  
COMMON PURPOSES IN AT LEAST SOME ENDEAVORS. TO INDIA-AMERICAN  
RELATIONS EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT ARE MORE THAN DOCTRINES  
OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THEY ARE POLITICAL NECESSITIES.

IN THE PAST YEAR OR TWO WE HAVE REMOVED MAJOR OBSTACLES TO  
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AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP. OUR ENERGIES ARE NOW FOCUSED ON THE  
POSITIVE CONTENT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY WE  
FIND ONCE AGAIN THAT AS TWO GREAT NATIONS WE SHARE CERTAIN  
ASPIRATIONS FOR THE WORLD AT LARGE:

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 ISO-00 CCO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01

NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 SP-02 SS-15 A-01 OPR-01 EA-06

EUR-08 EB-04 SAJ-01 OES-02 ACDA-05 AEC-05 CU-02 AID-05

COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 IO-04 SWF-01 FEA-01 /089 W

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SECTO 164

WE SHARE A CONCERN FOR COOPERATIVE SOLUTIONS TO MAN'S  
FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS.

THE PRESENT CRISIS CONFRONTING BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING  
NATIONS REVEALS ALL TOO CLEARLY THE WORLD'S PAST FAILURE TO  
ADDRESS GLOBAL PROBLEMS ON A TRULY COOPERATIVE BASIS. INDIA  
AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE. THE WORLD'S  
BEST MINDS MUST BE MOBILIZED AND INDIA HAS THE THIRD LARGEST  
POOL OF SCIENTIFIC TALENT WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAS THE FIRST.  
WE MUST APPLY THE GREAT ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF OUR TWO NATIONS;  
THE UNITED STATES HAS THE LARGEST INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE  
WORLD AND INDIA THE TENTH LARGEST. OUR ECONOMIES ARE COMPLI-  
MENTARY; THE FACT THAT INDIA IS ONLY THE 26TH LARGEST TRADING  
PARTNER OF THE UNITED STATES REVEALS WHAT POTENTIAL IS YET  
UNTAPPED.

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THE JOINT COMMISSION WE ARE ESTABLISHING--FOR SCIENTIFIC,  
CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION -- PROVIDES A NEW MEANS TO  
MATCH OUR RESOURCES WITH OUR CHALLENGES. IT IS THE SYMBOL OF  
THE NEW AREA OF EQUALITY. AND THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO  
EXPAND THE CONCEPT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION INTO OTHER AREAS.

WE SHARE A CONCERN FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO VISIT SOUTH ASIA WITHOUT BEING DEEPLY  
AFFECTED BY THE PLIGHT OF SO MANY OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS REGION.  
INDIVIDUAL HOPES FOR SURVIVAL AND NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR  
DEVELOPMENT HAVE BEEN DEALT A CRUEL BLOW BY THE CRISES IN  
ENERGY, FOOD AND INFLATION.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO BE HELPFUL, WHILE AVOIDING THE  
DEPENDENCE WE BOTH REJECT. EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE UNITED STATES  
WROTE OFF THE LARGEST AMOUNT OF FOREIGN DEBT EVER CANCELLED IN  
HISTORY. THIS YEAR THE UNITED STATES WILL LAUNCH A MODEST BIL-  
ATERAL AID PROGRAM. A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF OUR MULTILATERAL

AID ALREADY COMES TO INDIA. OUR NEW FOOD PROGRAM WHICH I WILL  
OUTLINE AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK WILL BE OF  
PARTICULAR RELEVANCE TO INDIA.

WE SHARE A CONCERN FOR WORLD PEACE.

NEITHER INDIA NOR THE UNITED STATES WILL EVER BE SATISFIED  
WITH A WORLD OF CRONIC CONFLICTS, UNEASY TRUCES AND OFFSETTING  
BLOCS. WE HAVE A JOINT INTEREST IN A COMPREHENSIVE, INSTITUTION-  
ALIZED PEACE, BASED NOT MERELY ON A BALANCE OF FORCES BUT ON A  
SENSE OF JUSTICE.

IN RECENT MONTHS OUR DIALOGUE ON THE ENTIRE RANGE OF GLOBAL  
CONCERNS HAS ASSUMED A NEW FREQUENCY AND DEPTH. OUR CONSUL-  
TATION HAS DEFINED AREAS WHERE WE AGREE AND NARROWED THOSE  
WHERE WE DO NOT. WE HAVE FOUND ANEW THE BASIS FOR COLLABORATION  
IN MANY AREAS.

TAGORE WROTE WITH FORESIGHT: "DURING THE EVOLUTION OF THE  
NATION THE MORAL CULTURE OF BROTHERHOOD WAS LIMITED BY GEOGRAPHIC  
BOUNDARIES, BECAUSE AT THAT TIME THOSE BOUNDARIES WERE TRUE.  
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NOW THEY HAVE BECOME IMAGINARY LINES OF TRADITION DIVESTED OF  
THE QUALITIES OF REAL OBSTACLES. SO THE TIME HAS COME WHEN MAN'S  
MORAL NATURE MUST DEAL WITH THIS FACT WITH ALL SERIOUSNESS OR  
PERISH."

THE TIME HAS COME FOR NATION TO ACT ON THIS VISION. LET THERE  
BE HOPE RATHER THAN DESPAIRE, CREATIVITY RATHER THAN DISARRAY.  
THE RECOGNITION AND UNDERSTANDING OF OUR PROBLEMS ARE CLEARLY  
EMERGING. WE HAVE THE TECHNICAL MEANS TO SOLVE THEM. AND THE  
URGENCY OF OUR TALKS IMPELS US.

HALF A CENTURY AGO, MAHATMA GANDHI WROTE THAT WE MUST LAUNCH  
"EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH." IN THIS SPIRIT, LET US RESOLVE TO  
STRENGTHEN THE NEW BEGINNINGS BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA. LET US  
BUILD A RELATIONSHIP THAT CAN ENDURE AND SERVE COMMON ENDS FOR  
A LONG TIME. LET US MAKE OUR CONTRIBUTION TO HELP MANKIND MATCH  
ITS CAPACITY TO ITS CHALLENGES FOR THE BENEFIT OF OUR TWO  
PEOPLES AND OF ALL OF MANKIND.

KISSINGER

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